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LIST OF REFERENCES ON

PRIMARY ELECTIONS

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PREFATORY NOTE

Meyer's "Nominating systems: direct primaries *versus* conventions in the United States" gives a historical statement of the movement for direct primaries in the United States and an exposition of the legislation in the various states down to 1902, with numerous references to authorities. It affords a convenient list of much of the material on the subject of primary legislation and has been used here.

In addition to discussions and expositions of primary systems, the present List includes references to statutes and session laws of the various states which have legislated in regard to direct primaries.

The articles in periodicals have been briefly annotated.

A. P. C. Griffin
Chief Bibliographer

Herbert Putnam
Librarian of Congress
Washington, D. C., January 10, 1905

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Discussion of the caucus system after two years' trial in England.

1883. Our nominating machines. George Walton Green.
Atlantic monthly, vol. 52 (July, 1883): 323–329.
An exposition of "the development of the machine system of political nominations in the metropolis of America." Calls for a reform in primaries.

1883. Facts about the caucus and the primary. George Walton Green.
North American review, vol. 137 (Sept., 1883): 257–269.
Dwells on the evils of the caucus system and calls for reform, but formulates no plan.

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1887. Substitutes for the caucus. R. H. Dana.
Forum, vol. 2 (Jan., 1887): 491–501.
"The real remedy is to stop the supply of offices and money. This can be done only by Civil Service Reform, and by strict laws as to the expenditure of money in nominations and elections."

1892. The primary the pivot of reform. David Dudley Field.
Forum, vol. 14 (Oct., 1892): 189–193.
"There is little new in what is here written. My aim is to reiterate, and by reiteration enforce, if I may be so fortunate, what has been written many times before. . . . The true reform club is the primary."

1894. Municipal primaries in the South. S. S. P. Patterson.
Sewanee review, vol. 2 (Aug., 1894): 449.

1897. Machine candidates.
Outlook, vol. 55 (Jan. 9, 1897): 155–156.
Editorial on the need of direct primaries.

1897. The menace of the machine. Robert M. La Follette.
University record, vol. 1 (Mar. 5, 1897): 587–593.
Advocates direct primaries.

1897. The nominating system. E. L. Godkin.
Atlantic monthly, vol. 79 (Apr., 1897): 450–467.
An exposition of the evils of the existing nominating systems. Suggests no specific remedy.

1897. Lewis primary election bill.
Outlook, vol. 55 (Apr. 10, 1897): 963.
Editorial note on the Lewis primary election bill introduced in the Wisconsin legislature.

1897. How to reform the primary-election system. (With particular reference to reforms in operation or proposed.) Edward Insley.
Arena, vol. 17 (June, 1897): 1013–1023.
Names various plans of reform; outlines a "practical remedy," giving features embodied in the bill presented to the Illinois legislature in the spring of 1897, and notes "what legislatures are doing for the reform."

1897. Futility of primary reform.
Nation, vol. 65 (Dec. 2, 1897): 431–432.
Editorial declaring the ineffectiveness of the primary laws in force as demonstrated in the results of certain contested election cases, notably the Westchester county case, in New York.

1897. Substitutes for the primary.
Nation, vol. 65 (Dec. 23, 1897): 490–491.
Editorial describing Brooks's plan for the "institution of a nominating ballot system."

1897. Primary elections.
Outlook, vol. 57 (Dec. 4, 1897): 790.
Editorial note on a proposed national conference on direct primaries.

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1897. A necessary reform.
Outlook, vol. 57 (Dec. 18, 1897): 943–945.
Editorial note on Mr. Brooks's plan.

1897. The nominating ballot. F. M. Brooks.
Outlook, vol. 57 (Dec. 18, 1897): 950–952.
Plea for a system to take the place of the "primary convention method."

1898. Reform of the party primaries.
Independent, vol. 50 (Jan. 27, 1898): 117.
Editorial on the need of reform in system of making party nominations.

1898. The nominating ballot. L. G. McConachie.
Outlook, vol. 58 (Jan. 15, 1898): 176–177.
Brief description of a plan supplementary to Brooks's scheme.

1898. Hill bill for primary reform.
Outlook, vol. 58 (Jan. 22, 1898): 210.
Brief editorial discussion of the bill introduced by H. W. Hill for primary reform.

1898. An essential reform.
Outlook, vol. 58 (Jan. 29, 1898): 261–262.
Editorial on the primary election reform convention.

1898. Primary election reform. From a staff correspondent.
Outlook, vol 58 (Jan. 29, 1898): 266–268.
Synopsis of proceedings of the Primary elections reform convention held in New York in 1898.

1898. Report of the Buffalo Republican league committee on primary reform.
Public opinion, vol. 24 (Jan. 13, 1898): 40–41.
Editorial.

1898. Reform of the primaries. Carl Schurz.
Harper's weekly, vol. 42 (Feb. 5, 1898): 123–124.
Discussion of the effectiveness of proposed reform, with the conclusion that "the primary reformers who aim at lifting our politics to a higher plane, will finally have to admit that still more important than an improvement of the mechanism of primary elections and caucuses will be the following three things: the restriction of the patronage to the narrowest limits, an amendment to our election laws making independent nominations as easy as possible, and another banishing the party column from our official ballot, arranging the nominees for each office in alphabetical order, and thus obliging the voter individually to identify each candidate he wishes to vote for."

1898. Primary elections.
Outlook, vol. 58 (Feb. 12, 1898): 455–456.
Editorial note on an act for the reform of primary elections passed by the Illinois legislature.

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1898. Reform of primaries.
Gunton's magazine, vol. 14 (Mar., 1898): 152–157.
Argument for reform without presenting any plan.

1898. A new kind of primary.
Nation, vol. 66 (Mar. 3, 1898): 161–162.
Editorial regarding a bill.

1898. Primary law in Illinois.
Outlook, vol. 58 (Mar. 26, 1898): 753–754.
Editorial note on the first trial of the Illinois primary election law in Chicago.

1898. The New York primary election law. Walter J. Branson.
American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 11 (May, 1898): 381–383.
Brief summary of the New York law of 1898.

1898. The movement for better primaries. W. H. Hotchkiss.
American monthly review of reviews, vol. 11 (May, 1898): 583–589.
Considers first the caucus, secondly sets forth the action taken in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Missouri, Massachusetts, California, and Chicago. Describes the New York primary law.

1898. Direct nomination of candidates by the people. John S. Hopkins.
Arena, vol. 19 (June, 1898): 729–739.
Describes the primary system used by the Republicans of Jackson county, Kans., since 1877, which he considers a model.

1898. The reform of the primary. George L. Record.
Municipal affairs, vol. 2 (June, 1898): 176–182.
Presents a plan for "Direct vote at the primary."

1898. Primaries in Georgia.
Outlook, vol. 59 (June 18, 1898): 411.
Editorial note on the operations of the primary election law in Georgia.

1898. Primaries in New York.
Outlook, vol. 59 (June 18, 1898): 411.
Editorial note on the "first Republican primaries held in this city (New York) under the new primary election law."

1898. Proposed reforms in Wisconsin.
Outlook, vol. 59 (July 30, 1898): 759.
Editorial notes on La Follette's letter announcing his candidacy, in which he supports direct primary reforms.

1898. The dark side of direct primaries.
Outlook, vol. 59 (July 30, 1898): 797.
Letter showing the ill results of the direct primaries in Cleveland, Ohio.

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1898. The conflict in Wisconsin.
Outlook, vol. 59 (Aug. 27, 1898): 1001.
Editorial note on La Follette's campaign.

1898. Direct primaries in South Carolina. Observer.
Outlook, vol. 60 (Sept. 10, 1898): 146.
Letter from Greenville, S. C., describing the primary laws and criticising their operation.

1898. Gains for direct legislation.
Outlook, vol. 60 (Sept. 17, 1898): 156.
Editorial note on the party platforms which advocate primary reforms.

1898. Direct primaries. F. M. Brooks.
Outlook, vol. 60 (Sept. 24, 1898): 251–252.
Letter in regard to primaries in Cleveland, Ohio.

1899. Tendencies in primary legislation. Walter J. Branson.
American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 13 (May, 1899): 346–357.
Analyses of the legislative enactments regulating primaries, with a table of primary election laws giving essential features.

1899. The direct primary law in Minnesota.
Outlook, vol. 62 (May 20, 1899): 150–151.
Synopsis of the Minnesota law.

1899. Direct primaries in the South.
Outlook, vol. 62 (June 3, 1899): 243.
Editorial note.

1899. Concurrent primaries.
Outlook, vol. 63 (Sept. 2, 1899): 8–9.
Editorial note on the primary system put into practice in San Francisco.

1899. Direct primaries in Kansas and Missouri.
Outlook, vol. 63 (Oct. 28, 1899): 475.
Editorial note.

1899. When the people nominate. Bird S. Coler.
Independent, vol. 51 (Nov. 30, 1899): 3210–3212.
Suggests the following plan: "Let the Republican voters nominate their candidates for office and let the Democratic voters nominate the candidates of their party by the simple method of casting a secret ballot, the man receiving the largest number of votes in each case to be nominee."

1900. Direct primaries and ward option in Ohio.
Outlook, vol. 64 (Feb. 17, 1900): 378.
Editorial note.

1900. Direct primaries make headway.
Outlook, vol. 65 (Aug. 4, 1900): 761.
Editorial note on the success of La Follette's candidacy.

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1900. Direct primaries in Wisconsin.
Outlook, vol. 65 (Aug. 18, 1900): 897–898.
Editorial on the Wisconsin Republican platform.

1900. The growth of machine power. E. P. Clark.
Nation, vol. 71 (Sept. 6, 1900): 183–184.
Editorial discussing the primaries recently held in the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, showing the ineffectiveness of the new primary law.

1900. Direct and indirect primaries.
Outlook, vol. 66 (Sept. 8, 1900): 91–92.
Editorial note on the effect of indirect primaries as shown in the nomination of Democratic candidate for governor, in contrast with the results of direct primaries in South Carolina.

1900. The dispensary in South Carolina.
Outlook, vol. 66 (Sept. 22, 1900): 193.
Editorial note on the direct primary in South Carolina.

1900. Minnesota's new primary election law. Samuel M. Davis.
Independent, vol. 52 (Oct. 18, 1900): 2495–2497.
Outlines the law of 1899, limited to Hennepin county, in which Minneapolis is situated, and describes the first operation of the law, Sept. 18, 1900.

1900. Direct primaries in Minneapolis.
Outlook, vol. 66 (Oct. 6, 1900): 288–289.
Editorial note.

1900. New primary law.
American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 16 (Nov., 1900): 490.
Brief note on election in Hennepin county under primary law.

1900. Direct primaries in Pennsylvania.
Outlook, vol. 66 (Dec. 8, 1900): 861–862.
Gives the result of the election in Scranton, Pa., under the Crawford county system.

1901. Minnesota law governing primaries. F. L. McVey.
Yale review, vol. 9 (Feb., 1901): 450.
Brief review of the results of the election in Hennepin county under the primary election law of 1899.

1901. Direct primaries demanded.
Outlook, vol. 67 (Mar. 2, 1901): 477–478.
Editorial note on the movement in Wisconsin.

1901. Direct primaries.
Outlook, vol. 67 (Mar. 23, 1901): 654–655.
Editorial note on the adoption of the system in Minnesota.

1901. Doom of the dictator.
Gunton's magazine, vol. 20 (Apr., 1901): 323–332.
Reform of the primaries to do away with "bossism."

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1901. Reforms advanced in Minnesota.
Outlook, vol. 68 (May 4, 1901): 3.
Editorial on Minnesota primary law.

1901. Municipal gains and losses.
Outlook, vol. 68 (May 18, 1901): 139–140.
Editorial note on the measures for reform of primaries.

1901. Direct primaries and uniform accounts.
Outlook, vol. 68 (May 18, 1901): 140–141.
Editorial on the "Crawford county system."

1901. Governor La Follette's ringing message.
Outlook, vol. 68 (May 25, 1901): 199–201.
Editorial on the message of La Follette vetoing the direct primary bill.

1901. The rights of man; a study in twentieth century problems. Lyman Abbott.
Outlook, vol. 68 (June 15, 1901): 396–401.
Commends the direct primary.

1901. The Minnesota primary election law. Experience under it up to date. A. L. Mearkle.
American monthly review of reviews, vol. 24 (Oct., 1901): 464–468.
Discussion of the law of 1899 with note of some defects.

1902. Gains and losses for direct primaries.
Outlook, vol. 70 (Mar. 29, 1902): 745.
Editorial note on gains in New York and drawbacks in Indiana.

1902. Direct nomination. J. T. Newcomb.
Nation, vol. 75 (July 31, 1902): 85.
Discusses the Minnesota law, preceded by a statement regarding the movement for primary reform in New York and Massachusetts.

1902. Direct primaries.
Harper's weekly, vol. 46 (Aug. 9, 1902): 1070.
Editorial on the Minnesota law.

1902. Minnesota's experience with direct nominations.
Outlook, vol. 72 (Sept. 27, 1902): 189.
Editorial note on the primary election of September, 1902.

1902. Test of the Minnesota primary election system. F. M. Anderson.
American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 20 (Nov., 1902): 616–626.
A detailed examination of the workings of the law based upon official election returns, etc., with consideration of defects in the law.

1902. County primary election in Pennsylvania.
American academy of political and social science. Annals, vol. 20 (Nov., 1902): 640–643.
A discussion of the Bucks county primary, which is declared to be "altogether vicious."

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1902. Results of the Minnesota primary election system. T. M. Knappen.
Independent, vol. 54 (Nov. 13, 1902): 2694–2695.
A favorable view of the working of the Minnesota system.

1902. Direct nominations in Massachusetts.
Outlook, vol. 72 (Nov. 1, 1902): 486.
Editorial note on the application of the law of 1901.

1902. Theory and practice of the new primary law; a plea for compulsory voting. William Hemstreet.
Arena, vol. 28 (Dec., 1902): 585–595.

1903. Needed political reforms. Edward Insley.
Arena, vol. 29 (Jan., 1903): 71–75.
Submits proposition which the writer regards "as essential to any good primary law."

1903. Primary reform in Baltimore.
Outlook, vol. 73 (Feb. 7, 1903): 263–264*.*
Editorial outlining features of law which had its first operation in Baltimore in the spring of 1903.

1903. Joint primary plan in Massachusetts.
Outlook, vol. 74 (July 4, 1903): 537.
Editorial note on the passage of the Luce bill.

1903. Progress of direct primary reform.
World's work, vol. 6 (Aug., 1903): 3715–3716.
Brief survey of recent legislation in Massachusetts and in some western states.

1903. Progress of direct primary reform. C. R. Woodruff.
Chautauquan, vol. 38 (Sept. 9, 1903): 9–10.
Brief notice of movement in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, New Jersey and Massachusetts.

1903. More victories for direct primaries.
Outlook, vol. 75 (Oct. 3, 1903): 237.
Editorial note on the adoption of a direct primary law in Louisiana, and the workings of the Massachusetts law in the Boston election.

1904. Reform of primaries.
Current literature, vol. 37 (July, 1904): 22–24.
Review of Meyer's "Nominating systems."

1904. Progress of primary reform.
Nation, vol. 79 (Oct. 13, 1904): 290.
Considers the operation of Minnesota law and the provisions of the law proposed in Wisconsin.

1904. The political machine. James R. Trowbridge.
Yale review, vol. 13 (Nov., 1904): 287–295.
Thinks that direct primaries aim to break down the machine, but the latter stands to win if it makes good nominations.

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AUTHOR INDEX

	Page
Abbott, Lyman	23
Anderson, F. M	23
Barber, W. S	14
Bates, Clement	12
Bellinger, Charles B	12
Berryman, John R	15
Blodget, L	14
Branson, Walter J	20, 21
Brooks, F. M	19, 21
Brown, Guy A	10
Bryce, James	5
Burdick, Charles W	15
Burns, Harrison	7
Came, C. G	14, 17
Campbell, R. B	10
Carroll, John D	8
Chatterton, Fenimore	16
Clark, Charles C. P	6
Clark, E. P	22
Clemens, G. C	6, 8
Coler, Bird S	21
Cotton, William W	12
Cutting, Henry C	10
Dallinger, F. W	6
Dana, R. H	18
Davis, Samuel M	22
Deering, James H	6
Dillard, George G	10
Eaton, Dorman B	6
Field, David Dudley	18
Gay, Richard L	9
Godkin, E. L	7, 18
Goepp, C	14
Goodnow, F. J	7
Grantham, Edwin L	14
Green, George Walton	17
Hempstead, Ernest A	7
Hemstreet, William	24
Hill, H. W	19
Hill, Joseph M	5
Hoffman, Edward Fenno	17
Hopkins, John S	20
Horner, Frank A	7
Hotchkiss, W. H	20
Hurd, Harvey B	7
Insley, Edward	18, 24
Jewett, F. G	11
Knappen, T. M	24
Kunkel, Paul A	13
La Follette, Robert M	18
Lawton, George W	8
McConachie, L. G	19
McCrary, George W	8
McCune, Henry L	8
McVey, F. L	22
Macy, Jesse	8
Mearkle, A. L	23
Meyer, Ernst Christopher	9
Miller, Lewis M	9
Mills, J. Warner	6
Moffat, R. S	17
Newcomb, J. T	23
Nye, A. B	17
Palmer, John	11
Patterson, S. S. P	18
Pierce, Frank	15
Pollard, John Garland	15
Ray, F. P	13
Raymond, S. M	13
Record, George L	20
Remsen, Daniel S	13
Sanborn, Arthur L	15
Sandels, L. P	5
Sanders, Wilbur F	10
Schurz, Carl	19
Sedgwick, A. G	17
Shock, Floyd	14
Silvernail, William H	11
Simons, Charles C	13
Simonton, John W	13
Spahr, Charles B	14
Steiner, Bernard C	14
Thompson, R. H	10
Trowbridge, James R	24
Van Orsdel, J. A	16
Warth, John A	15
Wheeler, Hiland H	10
Whitridge, Frederick W	15
Whitten, Robert H	12
Wilder, Amos Parker	15
Wilson, Edward D. J	17
Wolff, Solomon	8
Woodburn, James Albert	15
Woodruff, C. R	24

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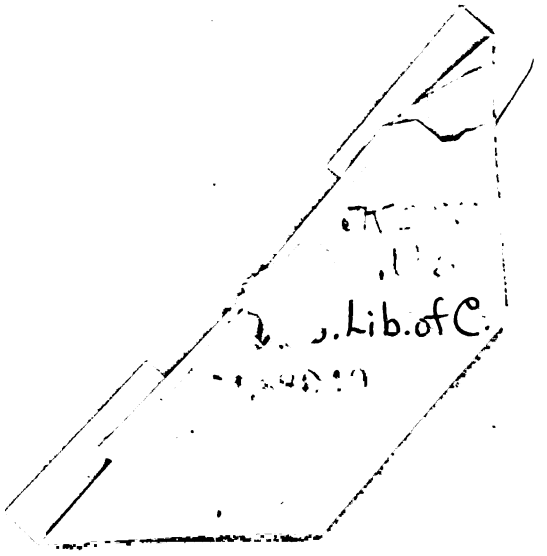

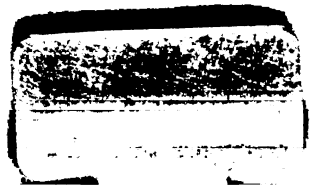

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